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AMERICA

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A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

VOLUME LXXIII

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NUMBER 5

*New Impression—
Now Ready*

**THE
PHILOSOPHY OF
ST. THOMAS AQUINAS**

By

HANS MEYER

Translated by

Rev. Frederic C. Eckhoff

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Not often do we have a profound and critical philosophical work that is at the same time intelligible to persons who are not students of philosophy. But this volume by Hans Meyer is one of those exceptions. Yet it is not a diluted simplification.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS is not a mere compendium and explanation of the philosophy elaborated by the Angelic Doctor. In fact, at several points the author takes issue with St. Thomas, subjecting certain Thomistic conclusions or premises to critical scrutiny.

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This Publishing Business

Saints' Lives Made New

Heaven for climate, hell for company says the pleasant foolish proverb. How did the idea get about that saints are not good company? Blame the writers of their lives, so anxious to prove that the saint was a saint, that they would not let the saint be himself.

So, at least, hagiographers used to be. For English readers that tide turned with Father Martindale's swift and brilliant life of St. Aloysius, and this was fitting because no saint had been more maltreated: it is a hard question whether he suffered more from those who wrote of him or those who made statues of him — pink and white statues with no chin worth mentioning and no Adam's apple at all: anyhow books and statues reinforced each other and the Patron Saint of Youth was shown of such a sort that any boy or girl would have run miles to avoid his intolerable company.

In a rational world a thousand statues would have fallen shattered from their pedestals when Father Martindale's book appeared. For this was Aloysius himself: the Renaissance prince, with the violent temper only slowly and with immeasurable energy brought under control.

Soon after this superb life of St. Aloysius came Christopher Hollis' surprising book on St. Ignatius, and this also we now reprint. What is surprising about it is the angle of approach. Objectively it has what any good biography should have — the story of the man's life, analysis of his age, some account of the action and reaction of the man and the age. But it is the subjective element that makes the book so notable. Here is how the author states it: "I am a Catholic and therefore believe that one whom the Church calls saint deserves my honour. Indeed, I would not be so foolish as to refuse honour to Ignatius of Loyola, even had the Church not canonized him. But wherever in the record of St. Ignatius' life I have come across him doing things which we, normal people, not only do not do but even do not think ourselves under obligation to do, I have tried to discover and to explain why it was that St. Ignatius did this thing.

"There are some of St. Ignatius' opinions and actions which it is not at first hearing easy to understand. It is but common sense and sensible humility that, instead of hastily condemning, one should expect that St. Ignatius had good reason for what he said or did. Yet even before the teachings of such a man it is not permissible to abdicate intellectual independence. Where one cannot agree, it is but honest frankly to say so."

It is surprising how much an inquiry conducted in this spirit teaches about the nature of sanctity (which is important) and on our own Catholic outlook (less important, perhaps, but not unimportant, God knows). (F.J.S.)

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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

The Conference Opens. All America, said Secretary of State Stettinius at the opening on April 25 of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, all America spoke through President Truman, when he bluntly declared the choice between the alternatives the Conference was facing: "the continuation of international chaos—or the establishment of a world organization for the enforcement of peace." Delegates of forty-six nations, along with three thousand spectators, listened gravely to the opening addresses; but the unseen audience was practically the whole war-harrowed world, with that world's hopes, fears and anxieties. To this gathering, and to this world, President Truman spoke words which echoed the religious conscience as well as the supreme practical wisdom of mankind: "Justice remains the greatest power on earth. To that tremendous power alone will we submit." When the banner of our country's principles is planted on that high platform, only heroic honesty, courage and determination will keep it from being swept aside by the gales of greed, fear and ambition that the war's hurricane has left as its aftermath. But now that our nation, speaking through the President, has planted the flag there, we cannot haul it down. The next few weeks will offer one of the greatest opportunities in all history to prove that justice remains the world's chief power, and that our nation is determined, with all the other nations of the world, to establish its reign for all future time.

Labor Sideshow. At the World Trade Union Conference held last February in London, a committee of thirteen delegates was appointed to draft a constitution for the new organization. After a series of meetings in Washington, at which the chief CIO representatives were President Philip Murray, Secretary James Carey and Sidney Hillman, the committee moved to Oakland, California, there to continue work on the proposed constitution and to renew demands that world labor be granted representation on the social and economic council envisaged in the Dumbarton Oaks agreement. Absent from the deliberations was the American Federation of Labor, which still maintains both its allegiance to the International Federation of Trade Unions and its determination to have no dealings with the Soviet "unions" or with any international group which recognizes dual unionism. Top AFL leaders are known to be skeptical of the efforts so far made to launch the new international organization, and anticipate a long delay before all the difficulties are surmounted and the group can begin to function. Whether this skepticism is well founded, or merely reflects the hopes and wishes of the AFL remains to be seen. Certainly there are differences of opinion among the delegates at the Oakland meeting, and the CIO has made it clear that it will not consent to any voting arrangement that will permit the Russian "unions" with their 27,000,000 members to dominate the new organization. They are equally opposed to permitting the Conference to be used in the interest of any political or ideological objective. While there may be some trouble before the Russians, together with their Latin-American allies, can be brought to agreement on these points, CIO leaders, with the achievements of the London meeting still fresh in mind, appear confident of ultimate success.

Pétain Returns. Certainly for him not an easy or a pleasant thing to do. He returns to face trial for treason to his country, to face, perhaps, even the penalty that treason

brings with it. It is not necessary to see in his return some new Nazi scheme to disrupt France. It could well be no more than the desire of an old man, once a soldier, once a hero, to face his accusers and to defend himself against the most terrible accusation that could be leveled at a French soldier. He may be guilty. He may not be guilty. It is hardly sporting of American commentators to condemn him summarily out of court. Even his bitterest enemies, his most vicious accusers, should be willing to give the accused a chance to stand and defend himself. If they are sure of the ground of their accusations, they should rejoice that they can face him with them. In any event sportsmanship and justice seem to demand that we suspend judgment until all the evidence is in. Will new evidence appear? Already important documents, bearing on Vichy-London relations, were announced as in his possession by Prof. Louis Rougier, of New York City.

Another War Loan. Already in progress for several weeks, the Seventh War Loan will open formally on May 14. While the goal remains the same as it was for the Sixth Loan last November and December—\$14 billion—the Treasury hopes this time to raise a larger percentage of the total from individual investors. The \$5 billion target of the sixth campaign has been raised no less than forty per cent to \$7 billion. Although this figure seems almost too high to achieve, the Treasury, for a very understandable reason, is determined on it. This year there will be only two war-loan drives, instead of the three last year. Since the need to siphon off excess purchasing power, and thereby lessen inflationary pressures, has not in the meantime greatly diminished, Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau, and the thousands of volun-

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teer sales teams which are helping out, must accomplish in two campaigns what they achieved last year in three. This will not be an easy task, even though income payments for the first six months of 1945 will be about the same as in 1944. The trouble is there are still too many people in the country who do not understand the simple fundamentals of wartime fiscal policy or, if they do understand them, are willing to risk just a little inflation. They do not sufficiently appreciate that the forces making for inflation today are so powerful that, once they get out of control, it will be impossible to hold them within bounds. Should they break loose, we shall have not "just a little inflation," but a tornado that will wreck all plans for a smooth transition from war to peace. The Treasury is not fooling when it asks us to lend the Government \$7 billion. It cannot, with safety, ask less.

Nicholas Murray Butler. After forty-four years as President of Columbia University, Dr. Butler will relinquish his office on October 1. The title "President Emeritus," which he will then hold, is token of length of years, rich not alone in devoted but in distinguished service to his university and to the republic of letters. If it is true that an institution is often but the lengthening shadow of a man, it is right to remark that not only Columbia but other institutions as well (like the Carnegie Foundation for Peace) have reflected the admirable attributes of Nicholas Murray Butler. Much as he gave to the growth and renown of Columbia, his own views on the purposes and practices of education have often been saner and more conservative than those which various schools of his university espoused and propagated. This he himself recognized. And yet he did not on that account cease to castigate fads and fancies which he thought harmful to the best interests of education. It is an accurate measure of his personal stature that his leadership suffered no hurt at home when it was hailed more unreservedly outside. That this fine influence will continue and increase after Dr. Butler lays down the burdens of his office as president of Columbia is the belief and hope of his many sincere admirers.

Conscription Blues. The Peacetime Conscription campaign was launched by Army and Navy officials over a year ago. It was climaxed last Autumn in a flurry of press releases by General of the Army Marshall, Secretary of War Stimson, Secretary of Navy Forrestal, Selective Service Director Hershey, Under Secretary of War Patterson and other interested parties. The American Legion scrambled onto the bandwagon with a full orchestra. After a while public opinion suggested that the Military should climb down and let civilians discuss and decide peacetime legislation. So the Legion "fronted" for the Army and Navy. It rode the bandwagon through the country playing the same old tunes it played back in 1920—about how wonderful Army life is for "democracy" and "obedience" and "health" and, of course—we almost forgot—for defense! But on its current tour the Legion found (so it is rumored in reliable places) that the people by and large do not like the tune of "The Army will have your boy for a year when the wars are over!" They are said to argue like this: If thirteen or so weeks of training can fit youth for bloody war now, what's the need of a year in peacetime? So the Legion, still fronting for the military, may be expected anon to change that year to, say, four months. It would be better for the country if the Legion got "down off." Its tunes just do not blend with the National Anthem. Besides it can ill afford to risk its tottering future in a lost cause like compulsory universal peacetime military training.

Missionary Methods. Defenders of the Protestant missionaries in Latin America vehemently protest that these missionaries carry on their propaganda "in accordance with all the laws of propriety." This may be true with regard to the missionaries of the less belligerent denominations. It is emphatically not true of those violently anti-Catholic little sects which cluster on the lower fringe of Protestantism. These groups, as a matter of habitual policy, resort to methods which by their dishonesty and offensiveness keep the Catholic natives in a constant fever of resentment. They have shown an amazing aptitude in adapting to their own ends all the ruses in the anti-clerical bag of tricks. Recently they distributed in Saltillo, Capital of the State of Coahuila in Mexico, handbills which invited "the Most Rev. Bishop of this Diocese, priests, civil and military authorities, worthy Catholic ladies and gentlemen . . . workers, peasants, etc., to hear the pure truth of the Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ expounded by the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman ex-Bishop, Jorge Elias Celis." In reply the Most Rev. Luis G. Barragan, Coadjutor Bishop of Saltillo, issued the following statement: "I am in a position to affirm with the utmost certainty that Señor Jorge Elias Celis never was, is not and never will be a Bishop of the Catholic Church." "Protestants at different places," he continued,

have gone to the trouble of presenting some of their orators as ex-Bishops—more frequently as ex-priests—undoubtedly in an effort to impress on the credulous that the Catholic clergy is passing over to Protestantism in an ever-increasing number, and trying in this way to convince them of the truth of Protestantism. In reality such methods only serve to lower their own prestige.

Introducing a Critic. With this week's issue, AMERICA's present drama critic ceases to be "a voice from without"; he retains the local habitation (the Theatre column) into which he moved a month ago, and he assumes his own name—Theophilus Lewis. Mr. Lewis is well known for his drama criticism in the *Interracial Review*; he has had an honored place among AMERICA's reviewers, his last contribution in this field having been an evaluation of Wright's *Black Boy*. His interest and experience in the theatre and his own gifts should win him many friends among AMERICA readers.

Rogation Days. Even though, regrettably, the San Francisco Conference was opened without prayer, it needs our own special, intense prayer during these weeks. We call attention therefore to the suggestion made in this week's "The Word," that our Rogation Day petitions be directed to this intention.

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THE NATION AT WAR

THE GREAT RUSSIAN ASSAULT on Berlin was launched April 16. Two Russian Army Groups are involved. The 1st White Russian attacked from the Oder River some 40 miles off. Within a week it fought its way forward and, as these lines are written, is fighting inside Berlin. This Army Group has a frontage of over 60 miles, and extends sufficiently north of Berlin to wrap itself around that city from the north side.

The 1st Ukraine attacked from the Neisse River in south Germany on a 50-mile front. Its artillery punched gaps through the German defenses, through which Russian armor passed behind the German lines. This armor split into two columns; the northern one moved northwest towards the south side of Berlin; the southern went southwest towards Bautzen, apparently en route to Dresden.

The Germans in Berlin are fighting hard, but unsuccessfully. Women and children are reported as defending their city. However, the Russians appear to have a tremendous number of great tanks, against which men on foot and women and children are more or less helpless.

Germany foresaw that the Russians from the east, and the Allies from the west, would soon join, somewhere along the line from Berlin to Dresden. This was bound to cut Germany in two. So on the day before the great Russian offensive a decree was issued establishing separate governments for north and south Germany.

The new southern government is under Heinrich Himmler; the northern is under a Nazi named Heimath, about whom little is known. It would seem that the southern government is the important one. It still controls part of south Germany, most of Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, along with Croatia, Slovenia and sections of north Italy and Bosnia. Within that area are the Alpine mountain masses, which might be defended, provided food and ammunition have been stocked.

The northern German government now controls, besides the north German coast, Denmark, Norway (less Finland in the extreme north), about a third of Latvia and what remains of the German Navy, plus certain ports in France and Holland.

COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

WASHINGTON FRONT

ONE OF the most amazing spectacles in recent legislative history has been taking place in Washington as I write. The Senate Committee on Education and Labor has just concluded its hearing on the Mead-Aiken bill, which would extend Federal aid to schools on a basis of need and would include private, and therefore parish schools, in the benefits extended to the States.

The newest member on this committee is the recently elected Senator from Missouri, Forrest C. Donnell. This person, who, I am informed, before being Governor of his State was a prosecuting attorney, has shown his colleagues some new wrinkles in browbeating a witness. That the witnesses were citizens of the United States, and were exercising their constitutional right of presenting petitions before the Congress, bothered the new Senator not at all. His methods were so disgusting that several Senators openly walked out on him more than once.

The National Education Association, which has another bill, which would deny aid to Catholic schools and has many other inequitable features, has had its representatives in close touch with Senator Donnell. The American Federation of Teachers, an A. F. of L. union, has supported the Mead-Aiken bill, which also has the support of the Education Department of the N.C.W.C. Donnell tried to discredit every witness for the Mead-Aiken bill even before they gave their testimony, and an especial attempt has been made to blackball the non-Catholic representative of the A.F.T., in and out of the hearings.

A climax in ill treatment came after Matthew Woll, national Secretary of the A. F. of L., spoke for the Mead-Aiken bill. He was asked if he did not think the bill was a subterfuge to get around State provisions forbidding money to be given to private institutions. He said he did not think so. The next day the A.P. carried a story to the effect that he did think so, and the *Washington Post*, opposing the bill, put a caption above the story: "Admits Subterfuge."

To date neither the *Post* nor the A.P. seems to have made any reparation, and the incident is typical of the lengths to which opposition has gone. Maybe, however, it has overreached itself.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

"A LIGHT in the firmament of history and civilization has disappeared with the passing of Franklin Delano Roosevelt," *Osservatore Romano* declares in an editorial published on April 14. "May God grant," the editorial continues, "that nothing of his noble, wise and beneficent teaching be lost, but that it may be deeply rooted and ever increase in richness in the throb of progress here below."

► Nearly ten thousand, out of a total of 12,000, Catholic churches and chapels in Germany have been completely destroyed or seriously damaged in the course of the war, N.C.W.C. *News Service* reports. Of the famous Rhineland Cathedrals only the one at Speyer remains intact. Instead of "determining the place of Germany for the next thousand years," Hitler, it seems, has destroyed the achievements of Germany for the last thousand years.

► World peace demands "a free, independent, democratic Poland," the Most Rev. John F. O'Hara, Bishop-designate of Buffalo, declared at a Solemn Pontifical Mass in Saint Patrick's Cathedral, N. Y., for the liberation of the Polish people. Addressing a congregation which included leading

Polish officials, he quoted a statement by Archbishop Spellman that "those who think they are burying Poland are but planting the seeds of another war."

► A total of 71 priests and Religious were killed in cold blood by the Japanese during the battle of Manila. Hardest hit were the Christian Brothers, of whom 16 were killed, and the Augustinians, who lost 14. All of the churches and monasteries in Manila, with the sole exception of Saint Augustine Church, were destroyed and with them priceless altar vessels, vestments, books and manuscripts.

► "The potential unity of mankind must be actualized by law," not coerced by force, Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen declared to a crowd that packed and overflowed San Francisco's huge civic auditorium. Speaking on "The Moral Basis of Peace," Msgr. Sheen reminded his audience that to achieve international solidarity: "There are only two compulsions possible; one of force, the other of law. Power is outlawed. . . . Hence the international community which emerges as a natural society should be organized according to law."

LOUIS E. SULLIVAN

BACKDROP FOR THE BRETTON WOODS DEBATE

SISTER M. THOMASINE

A FEW WEEKS AGO, W. Randolph Burgess, President of the American Bankers' Association, complained that, in marked contrast to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Bretton Woods Agreement has been offered for adoption after but little public discussion. Although the Agreement was published some nine months ago, and about three months before the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the latter have been much more in the eye and on the tongue of the public. As a result, although the vast majority of Americans are aware that conflicting opinions exist both in the United States and in Great Britain regarding the Bretton Woods Agreement, in particular the Monetary Fund, they are lacking in an intelligent appreciation of the issues involved. This want of understanding is due not merely to the technical nature of the subject under consideration but more especially to a popular ignorance of Anglo-American economic backgrounds.

BRITISH-AMERICAN POSITIONS REVERSED

British opposition to the Monetary Fund proceeds from Britain's plight as a debtor nation and from her determination to prevent at any cost a recurrence of widespread unemployment. American disapproval, on the contrary, arises from a renewed appreciation of her powerful creditor position and from a resolution to avoid, if possible, a repetition of her investment errors during the inter-war period, while maintaining at the same time high levels of foreign trade and domestic employment. Basically, these two contrasting viewpoints are as old as trade itself. On the one side is the debtor, ever desirous and frequently deserving of liberal terms, at least up to the point beyond which profligacy might be encouraged. On the other side is the creditor, who is justified in safeguarding his own interests, providing that his caution does not become a subtle form of selfishness or greed. Each, in the parlance of finance, supports respectively soft money or hard money. Each is quite capable, under stress, of condemning the other either for his irresponsibility or for his penuriousness. Viewed against the economic backdrop of the recent past, an outline of the changing creditor-debtor positions held by Great Britain and the United States should suggest to the average American interested in foreign affairs the underlying causes for Anglo-American opposition to the Bretton Woods Monetary Fund.

At the close of the First World War, Britain and the United States assumed new creditor and debtor roles for which their late nineteenth-century experience had scarcely been a preparation. Although Britain's superb creditor status had waned somewhat with the turn of the century, even as American foreign loans had increased, London, nevertheless, remained up until 1914 the credit center of the world. British long-term investments were wisely scattered and protected throughout the Empire, in South America and in Asia; British shipping services continued to yield ample returns; and British bankers were effectively though quietly managing the international gold standard. As Sir Montague Norman of the Bank of England once declared: "I am the gold standard," so Britain during these pre-war years might well have said, "I am the world creditor."

The United States before 1914, on the contrary, has been described by Geoffrey Crowther as a Mature-Debtor-Borrower, "a net exporter of goods, though borrowing afresh

each year a part of what she paid in interest." To state this fact is not to deny that considerable amounts of loanable funds existed in certain sections of the country in those years, or that with the passage of the Gold Standard Act of 1900 the hard-money creditors of the East, rather than the debtor groups of the Middle West, enjoyed additional prestige at home and abroad. In general, however, Americans were still debtor-minded and, as a nation, beset by borrowers' problems. It was only with the First World War that the potentialities of the United States as an international creditor and lender were first realized.

In fact, during the postwar period of the 1920's, the traditional creditor and debtor positions of both countries were altered to a great extent. Britain retained her lender status, but much of her export trade was lost in market dislocations. The security of British long-term loans, moreover, was threatened by American competition as well as by a disturbing new development, namely, the unpredictable flight of short-term capital from one financial center to another. In a persistent but unsuccessful effort to recapture her full creditor status and to encourage trade stability through the restoration of an international gold standard, Britain pursued two monetary policies that were not wholly complementary: first, the pound was overvalued, and then British interest rates raised so as to attract short-term funds from abroad as a compensation for shrinking exports and foreign-investment returns. Soon, however, the immediate consequences of these policies—high export prices and a reduction in home investment—led to still more disastrous effects. Domestic unemployment increased, the inflow of short-term funds was reversed, gold drains continued and, finally, in 1931, the international gold standard collapsed. By this time Britain had learned to distrust a gold standard rigidly adhered to in a world economy where disequilibrium prevailed. By now, and for the first time in her history—with the exception of the war years of 1914 to 1918—Britain was forced from her position of creditor and lender to that of a creditor who still enjoyed income from past investments but was faced with what appeared to be a permanently unfavorable balance of payments.

Meanwhile the United States was meeting reverses of quite a different nature. In the 1914-1918 period, the United States reached maturity as a creditor and lender principally because of her war exports and loans. At the end of the 'twenties she was the largest lender of capital, though not the largest export creditor, in the world. Around seventeen billion American dollars had been invested abroad in government loans, corporate securities and direct investments, such as corporate properties and subsidiary plants. Many of these loans, however, were solicited by means of American high-pressure salesmanship and many more unwisely placed in foreign welfare projects, which are more properly the domain of public rather than private investment funds. Moreover, some American loans were diverted by the borrowing countries either to the servicing of their debts or to the concealment of their lack of internal monetary reform. In any case, a postwar world characterized by increasing exchange controls, unemployment and high tariffs was not favorable for vast investments of this type.

Toward the end of the 'twenties came a cessation of American foreign loans which, although precipitated by numerous defaults and political upheavals abroad, accompanied by the stock-market boom and collapse at home, was, nevertheless, only one aspect of a general American withdrawal from international affairs. Unfortunately, the withdrawal occurred during the very years when vigorous world cooperation might have at least alleviated the great depression of

1931. As it happened, it was only after the financial and trading machinery of the 'twenties had been destroyed and rebuilt that the United States would once more assume the responsibilities of a world lender, and then only as what has been aptly described as a "technical lender."

The decade of the 'thirties, despite gradual international recovery, was unquestionably a dismal period not only for Britain and the United States but also for the entire world. During the early 'thirties Great Britain again pursued contradictory economic policies in a second effort to regain lost markets and overcome domestic unemployment. This time the British pound was deliberately under-valued, and free trade was virtually abandoned by the adoption of a system of imperial preferences. Yet the stimulating effects anticipated from such policies were never realized. Other nations, among them Britain's best customers, likewise devalued their currencies and erected trade barriers. By 1933 the total value of world trade was cut down to a third of its value in 1929, while international investment had practically ceased. When recovery at long last appeared in the various nations, Britain abandoned her policies of self-sufficiency and re-entered international trade on the basis of bilateral and tripartite agreements. Eventually, however, the demands of a second world war nullified these agreements and compelled the British to liquidate many of their foreign investments, block Dominion balances held in London, sacrifice their shipping services to submarine attack and conduct trade on lend-lease terms. As a result, Britain at present is simply another war-devastated debtor nation and one faced with the prospect of a chronic deficit in the postwar years.

The United States, on her part, gradually attained during the 'thirties the unique position of the sole remaining export creditor and capital-lending nation in the world. In the earlier years of the decade the United States, like Britain, was experimenting with devaluation and self-sufficiency, enduring at the same time a loss of her export markets because other nations retaliated through exchange manipulations and various forms of economic warfare. Later, again like Britain, the United States re-entered world trade on the basis of stabilization and reciprocal trade agreements. It was only when the world tardily sought to rearm against totalitarian aggressors that an enormous increase in exports established the United States in her outstanding creditor position.

THE PROBLEM AND THE PLAN

The significant lending role of the United States in these years, however, did not result from a revival of her foreign investment according to the traditional sense. It was, rather, a consequence of the fact that American receipts from direct foreign investments or earnings from subsidiary and corporate plants abroad were fairly substantial up to 1939 as compared to foreign investments in the United States. For although unprecedented inflows of foreign gold and capital seeking refuge from a war-menaced Europe reached the United States during the late 'thirties, the greater part of these funds, instead of being invested in American industry, was either held idle in American banks or used for stock-market speculation. The United States, therefore, was a capital lender only in a technical sense. Today, despite the fact that customary trade relations have been disrupted for six years and the world economy subjected to innumerable changes, the United States still retains her unique position as an outstanding creditor and lender nation—one faced, during the postwar years, with the prospect of a chronic export surplus and vast supplies of loanable funds.

It is from their present contrasting positions of debtor and creditor nations, therefore, that Great Britain and the

United States evaluate both the object and the principal provisions of the Bretton Woods Monetary Fund. The object of the Fund is to assure relatively fixed international exchange relationships through stabilization of loans, and thus avoid the destructive exchange manipulations practised during the inter-war period. Two important means are provided to secure this end: first, all member countries are required to establish stable exchange ratios by defining their parities in gold; second, member countries, after placing their original quotas in the Fund, are permitted to adjust these parities within certain limits, any significant change being allowed only after consultation with the directors of the Fund. A debtor nation may borrow from the Fund to meet current transactions under normal conditions of trade. When borrowing exceeds \$400,000, the debtor nation loses to a creditor nation one vote as a director of the Fund; in cases of serious abuse of the borrowing privilege, the debtor nation may be suspended from the Fund. A creditor nation, on the contrary, is obliged to investigate and report to the Fund the causes of its chronic export surplus and attempt to correct the condition within a specified period of time.

Thus, on the one hand, consideration is accorded a debtor nation through provisions for limited loans and relative exchange flexibility; on the other hand, creditor interests are appeased by an insistence on an international currency basis of hard money or gold, and by placing cumulative power of control with creditor nations whenever borrowers exceed their privileges. In spite of such provisions, however, the Fund has not been wholly approved either by Great Britain or by the United States. British objections arise from her position as a debtor nation and from her inter-war experience with diminishing export trade and domestic unemployment. As a debtor faced with a chronic trade deficit, Britain quite naturally desires abundant international credit on easy terms; hence, the Bretton Woods limitations on borrowers are not entirely acceptable to the British. Nor is a close adherence to a hard-money credit basis, such as gold, during postwar conditions of instability entirely trusted by Britain, especially since her disastrous attempt to restore the gold standard in the 1920's.

To certain British experts, moreover, the logical solution for domestic unemployment is a national freedom to spend and unbalance the budget, since to them unemployment is a consequence of national underspending—a condition to be overcome only by a stimulation of both government and private expenditures. This is the familiar easy-money deficit-financing solution. In Great Britain, however, where export trade is vital, the high prices resulting from such policies require great freedom of devaluation. It is only by making British currency cheaper that Britain may hope to compete with low-price countries in a world market and at the same time pursue domestic deficit financing. To the British experts, therefore, the Bretton Woods restrictions on national powers of devaluation may prove an insuperable obstacle to postwar full employment.

United States opposition to the Bretton Woods Monetary Fund proceeds primarily from the hard-money banking groups, who are determined to safeguard the outstanding creditor position of the United States while at the same time encouraging world trade and domestic employment through the unaided efforts of private enterprise. This group, along with other cautious American experts, quite understandably disapproves of continuous lending to debtor members of the Monetary Fund, because past experience of the 1920's found successive American loans to weak fiscal nations frequently being used to conceal a lack of internal monetary reform. To these men, the safeguards already pro-

vided by Bretton Woods against such lending—the rationing of dollars, restrictions on borrowers and cumulative powers of control of the Fund by creditors—do not seem adequate. But additional protections, such as the veto power and complete control of the Fund by an international banking group rather than an inter-governmental group, are demanded. Similarly, with regard to British deficit financing, these same experts believe that definite limitations must be placed on domestic expansionary policies if postwar balance is to be gained.

Yet the opposing viewpoints of both countries are by no means irreconcilable, if only greater Anglo-American understanding can be achieved through a practical realization of their economic interdependence. The United States, endowed with tremendous productive power and a genius for marketing, must recognize the fact that Britain only recently was her best customer and that hence British prosperity, even though attained through seemingly radical monetary policies, is vital to her own economic stability. For her part, Great Britain, as the sagacious world creditor of the past, should consider that the first experience of the United States as a world lender was a disillusioning one, and that therefore her reactionary caution toward all types of expansionary policies is at least partially explainable. In the light of an intelligent appreciation of each other's viewpoints, not only will the immediate debtor-creditor conflict be easier of solution, but the long-run policies of the Monetary Fund will also be more wisely directed toward the promotion of the common good.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA

PETER BERGER

THE EXPULSION of the German troops from Vienna by the armies of the Soviet Union is one of the most decisive events of this war. Seven years ago Hitler proclaimed in conquered Vienna that Austria henceforth would be the Eastern bulwark of the Reich against its enemies. The possession of Vienna made the National-Socialist Reich the master of Central Europe. As Vienna slipped from Hitler's hands the victorious Soviet power attained a predominant position in the heart of the continent.

During the battle for Vienna the Soviet government broadcast an official declaration from Moscow, according to which the Soviets have no wish to acquire Austrian territory or to change the social system in Austria. The Soviet government promised to carry out the Moscow Three-Power Declaration on the independence of Austria, and to facilitate the liquidation of the regime of the German Fascists and the restoration of democratic institutions in Austria.

By the Declaration of Moscow in 1943 the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union recognized the independence of Austria as a condition of security and peace in Central Europe. The Declaration thereby reaffirmed a principle underlying the Paris Peace Treaties of 1919. Austria was then forbidden to alienate her independence except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. The Allied governments feared the dangers arising from a domination of the "key position of Europe" by a single Great Power, after the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Obviously, analogous apprehensions were guiding the three Powers at Moscow in 1943, when they considered the situation that would follow Germany's defeat.

Unfortunately there is another parallel between the plight of Austria after the First World War and now. By the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, Austria was cut off from the natural resources and commercial outlets in the Danubian countries with which she had formed an economic and political community for centuries. Permanent unemployment of great masses of the industrial population, pauperism and proletarianization of the Austrian middle class, political and social radicalism, the penetration of pan-Germanism and National Socialism were the consequences of Austria's mutilation. Although the Austrian government endeavored successfully to intensify domestic food production and build up new industries, it was impossible to overcome the structural weakness of the country. Austria went from one economic crisis to another, each of which entailed grave international repercussions. In 1922 the Austrian Federal Chancellor, Monsignor Seipel, averted economic collapse by an international loan made under the auspices of the League of Nations. In 1931, after the breakdown of the Austrian banking system, Chancellor Schober's plan to enter a customs union with Germany was defeated in the International Court of Justice. As the high customs barriers of the neighboring states prevented an upward development of Austria's foreign trade, Chancellors Dollfuss and Schuschnigg followed a policy of restoring the balance of payments by import restrictions and enlargement of domestic production. This was possible only at the price of new curtailments of the living standard of the population. When Austria fell under Hitler's assault, one out of three of her industrial workers was unemployed.

The three Powers in Moscow declared "that they wish to see reestablished a free and independent Austria." They went even a step farther—although with extreme caution—by expressing their wish "thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves, as well as those neighboring states which will be faced with similar problems, to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace." May this not mean regional cooperation in Central Europe, perhaps even a federation of Danubian states?

A few days before Vienna's liberation a *Pravda* article was reported from Moscow which contained a severe attack on Austrian Catholics "who support the policy of the Vatican." In connection with this, the Communist paper protested against alleged plans to unite Austria with Catholic parts of Germany or to erect a Hapsburg Monarchy consisting of Austria, Hungary, Croatia and parts of Italy. Austria was warned "to abandon her traditional anti-Slav policy" and to join the happy family of Eastern and Central Europe.

Supposing such an *Anschluss* to the East would bring valuable economic results to Austria, and the Austrian people could be persuaded to turn voluntarily from a Western into an Eastern nation, what would then be the attitude of the two other signatory Powers of the Moscow Declaration? This case also has a number of precedents. In the period between the two world wars France tried to erect a Danubian Federation consisting of Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. This plan could not be realized because of the opposition of Germany and Italy. The German-Austrian customs union was foiled by France and Italy again. After the *coup d'état* which the Nazis attempted in Austria in 1934 and the assassination of Dollfuss, a far-reaching French-Italian approach developed. The way to Danubian reconstruction seemed to lie open. But Italy by her attack on Abyssinia threw herself and Austria into Hitler's arms. Will the game revolving around an independent Austria be played another time? In this case a renewal of economic distress, political unrest and their inevitable out-

come may also be expected in Central Europe after this war.

Apart from the economic question, Austria's situation will be most affected by the change in Europe's political balance after the extinction of German military strength. A compact bloc of Slavonic states under the leadership of the Soviet Union will reach to the core of the continent. Austria was founded a thousand years ago as a bulwark of Christian civilization against the wild hordes from the East. She fulfilled her mission by warding off the Magyars and, in a struggle of 250 years, the Turks. Austria defended Christianity, but she never fought the Slavs. Austria's war against Russia, 1914-17, did not originate as a racial struggle but from the rivalry of two great Powers in the Balkan peninsula. There was also a fight between a number of Catholic Slavic and Orthodox Slavic nations, certain ones supported by Austria, the others by Russia. The differences between Poles and Russians, between Croats and Serbs, survived the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The old Austrian state was inhabited by six Slavic peoples. With the exception of Switzerland, there was no multi-racial state with such complete equality of races and languages in private and public life as old Austria had; none of her successor states granted such liberal treatment to minorities.

The little Austria which emerged from the Paris Peace Treaties can no longer be feared as a rival by a great Power. She does not contain any considerable Slav minority. She has no aspiration whatsoever for the territory of Slavonic states. Her principal interest is peace and friendship with all her neighbors.

OUTLOOK AND HOPES

There are grounds for hope in a proclamation which, according to the Associated Press, the commander of the third Ukrainian army, Marshal Tolbukhin, directed to the people of Vienna before the liberation of the city. He appealed to the Viennese to side with the Red Army, and pledged himself to restore the order existing in Austria before the Nazi *Anschluss*. This clause is in full accordance with the Three-Power Declaration of 1943, which refuses recognition to changes made in Austria since the German occupation. Consequently, Federal President Miklas and others in the former government may take up their functions again as soon as they are freed from the Nazis, supposing that they are still alive. Neither Miklas nor Chancellor Schuschnigg (reported slain by the Nazis) renounced their offices voluntarily. In his last message, on the eve of the German occupation, Schuschnigg stated that the Austrian government yielded "to brute force" only. A faithful execution of Marshal Tolbukhin's proclamation would help to allay apprehension about the rights of Catholics in Austria. The restoration of the pre-1938 status in Austria would preserve the continuity of constitutional development. It would facilitate the formation of a new, democratic government which would include all the parties which defended Austria against the Nazis in the past and those which will cooperate now with the liberating armies.

A definite decision on Austria's future form of government can be made only when the whole Austrian people has been liberated. A stable government in Austria requires the concurrence of the nine *Länder*, the free, autonomous members of the Austrian Federal State. Those *Länder* which lie in the Alpine West of Austria are supposed to fall into the British and the American occupation zones. Austria is highly interested in a full agreement among the Powers signatory to the Moscow Declaration, particularly during the temporary military occupation of the country by the Allies. Under such an agreement there will be hope that the dangers to the

reconstruction of a free and independent Austria will be overcome. But the Moscow Declaration was only a first and even a half-hearted beginning. Additional inter-Allied efforts are necessary to fulfil the basic intentions of that diplomatic document. Only thus will the peoples of Central Europe "find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace."

SHALL WE KEEP THE ATOLLS?

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

WHO GETS IWO JIMA and other strategic islands wrested from Japan in the Pacific is not on the agenda of the San Francisco Conference, but it hovered in the background to disturb the thoughts of the American delegation as they settled down to work last week. It had been taken for granted that a system of international trusteeship for colonial and dependent areas would be worked out to supplant and improve the work of the League of Nations Mandates Commission. By the opening day of the United Nations Conference on International Organization this country had evinced a lively interest and desire to retain permanently as United States' possessions the islands that have figured in our headlines as the Pacific war drew closer to Japan. The future of the trusteeship principle is quite in doubt.

The matter was brought to a head on April 5 by Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief of the U. S. Fleet, who pleaded before a New York gathering for our permanent retention of these bases. In this he was in contradiction to the ideas of the State Department, which contends that such territories should not be joined to any one nation but should be administered by an international commission working under the authority of the United Nations Organization. On the surface this is merely a difference of view between the State Department and the Navy Department. At bottom there is here involved the whole orientation of our future foreign policy as a member of the world organization. The final attitude taken by the United States will greatly influence the course of the deliberations which have just begun at San Francisco.

At first blush the Navy proposal to keep all the islands which have been in our headlines for months past seems peculiarly appropriate and just. In the words of Admiral King: "These atolls, these island harbors will have been paid for by the sacrifice of American blood." They are necessary if we are to keep control of the Pacific. To the general public it seems only right that we should have these islands for our own, without sharing them in an international trusteeship. We even advance demands to include territory under the control of an ally—for example, Tarawa. It is only after examining the further implications of such a policy that we see we are selling American blood much too cheaply in demanding Iwo and Saipan and Tarawa as the price of sacrifice.

The question to ask here is whether we can demand the right to set up an independent defense system, involving territorial aggrandizement at the expense of both enemies and allies, without setting the stage for like demands by Russia and Great Britain. If the drive for strategic bases makes any headway, the spirit of cooperative defense may receive a blow that could prove fatal. There is also the question of whether our country would be sacrificing its splendid moral position by stooping to pick up bits of terri-

tory here and there, in open contradiction (justifiable, from our point of view) to the Atlantic Charter. Strategic though it may be in a military sense, Iwo Jima may not be worth the price that will be demanded of us.

The reasons alleged by Admiral King and subsequently taken up in Congress and elsewhere are two: 1) we need these bases for future defense; 2) they have been purchased by American blood and toil. The questions whether these islands and atolls 1) belonged to an enemy or to an ally, or 2) had a culture or population differing from our own did not enter into consideration. Stripped to its bare bones, the proposal of Admiral King bears a startling and disconcerting similarity to Stalin's logic in taking Eastern Poland and the Baltic Republics. It is also a line taken by Great Britain, which wants to retain the mandates she already possesses from the League of Nations and to add further territory—say Pantelleria, in the Mediterranean—to bolster her link with India. If Russia demands Manchuria from China (an ally) and Port Arthur from Japan (an enemy), it will be on the same basis of power politics which Admiral King advances as reasons why we should keep the atolls.

The American delegates to the San Francisco Conference will have a difficult time in reaching agreement on international trusteeship *versus* outright possession. The presence of Harold Stassen—on leave from his Navy position as aide to Admiral Halsey—makes observers uncertain in which direction the American delegation may go. It is not known whether Stassen will support the Navy view or the State Department policy. The mind of the other members of the delegation is also uncertain, but they cannot fail to be influenced if any considerable group of people in this country makes a sustained outcry for these bases. When the question of the fate of the League Mandates system comes up, as it must, the delegates will be in an awkward position. On the one hand they will plead for the advancement of the politically undeveloped dependencies of Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, pointing the while at our own splendid precedent in the Philippines Commonwealth. On the other hand they will be soft-pedaling the concept of international trusteeship in view of the public demands by many Americans for outright possession of the Pacific islands. We would continue to withhold recognition of Russia's incorporation of the Baltic states while we absorb British territory in the Pacific.

This anomalous position will not fail to diminish the moral leadership of this country at San Francisco. Many persons consider—and it is hard to dispute with them—that Iwo Jima and Eastern Poland are two quite different issues. To date, however, our demands have been expressed in language that Russia can duplicate on her own behalf. There is bound to be a compromise method by which both our security and our sentimental attachment to the sacred ground of Tarawa and Iwo can be reconciled with international trusteeship of these islands. As of April 25, however, the two main points alleged by Navy spokesmen can be adduced at least plausibly by Commissar Molotoff. To Russia, the Baltic states mean more than Iwo and Okinawa mean to the United States. And Prime Minister Churchill, who has announced that he had not "become the King's first Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire" would certainly exploit to the fullest the opening given to him by unwise American demands. For every inch of territory annexed by the United States, our other Allies will take ten, and for the same reason.

From the moral viewpoint, our seizure (and who can doubt that we can have whatever we want in the Pacific?) of these tiny specks on the broad Pacific would be in effect a

step towards repudiation of international collaboration for security. Militarily sound, the policy is politically dangerous. In addition, it would constitute our first violation of the Atlantic Charter, by which we renounced territorial ambitions. Many will say that we cannot afford to let go these islands once we have taken them. To waive any claim to them will be labeled by some as a sample of dreamy idealism. This, of course, it may be. But it is the realism of power politics that got us into these wars. The job at San Francisco is to break away from that kind of realism. Whether we shall be able to do so is still a question. One tip-off will be our policy on international trusteeship *vs.* outright possession of the Pacific atolls.

DANGER SIGNALS FOR GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY: II

RICHARD PATTEE

(Continued from last week.)

The political turmoil in Latin America, in spite of the tension of the war, is obvious. In the course of the last year, political changes of a fundamental character have taken place in Bolivia, Ecuador, Salvador, Guatemala, with threats in other Central-American countries. The revolt against dictatorship in Salvador and Guatemala demonstrated that the time must come when the peoples ruled by such satraps as Ubico and Martínez reach a point where ruthless suppression is no longer feasible. Aside from the internal nature of these regimes, many of which were extremely unsavory and indefensible from any angle, humanitarian or democratic, the peoples involved could not help but be distressed by the attitude of the United States, which for years on end had lifted no finger to moderate the excesses of the dictators. Jorge Ubico attained power in Guatemala, thanks to American support. He remained in power, thanks to that support. His government was no milk-and-water affair. It was violent, tough and arrogant. Everyone knew it. Yet when Guatemala entered the present war as one of the United Nations, Ubico was welcomed as one of the boys, with no questions raised about his devotion to the common cause.

The confusion and contradiction spring in part from our insistence on talking about the present conflict as a war for democracy, while a goodly number of the United Nations give no visible evidence of democratic practices. The questions that intelligent Latin Americans raise in cases like these are: What does the United States have in mind? Is it out to promote effective democracy all over the world? In occupied Germany, in Italy, in liberated Greece and in Albania? In that event how can one justify the presence in the backyard of little dictatorships which are every whit as dastardly as those combated on the other side? Edelmíro Farrelí is condemned in no uncertain terms as a tool of the Axis, and his nearby neighbor, Getulio Vargas, is hailed as a democratic stalwart and given a clean bill of health because his armies are fighting in the Italian hills.

It doesn't make sense. Either we are or we are not. If we expect to change the political institutions of the world, that is one thing. If we wish to allow each state to work out its own political destiny, then hands off in America too, and neither give aid to the Latin-American dictators—as in the present case—nor intervene, as in the case of American pressure on the Argentine government. Latin America clearly wants to know which way to expect the trend to be.

We need a clear definition and a policy which is in accord

with the realities. We may expect vast political changes in Latin America. I cannot see anything on the horizon at the moment except a definite trend toward the Left. Ecuador is a case in point. The new regime of Velasco Ibarra is a swing to the Left. In other countries the swing is in the same direction. We may quite likely have dictatorships of a Leftish persuasion as in the case of Mexico, or we may have liberalistic—and somewhat demagogic—set-ups such as the one in Quito. A static situation is out of the question.

The repercussions of the war and the state of flux in which political institutions everywhere find themselves mean that Latin America, too, will go through the throes of turmoil and adjustment. If we have no policy on this matter and prate about democracy for everyone and welcome the Ubicos and the Martinezes as bosom friends, the confidence of Latin America will be very hard to regain. It is admittedly an extremely delicate task to draw the line between no support for these men and a rigid respect for the principle of non-intervention. At least we could avoid facilitating the acquisition of guns, tanks, and planes by governments which will unquestionably use them for the purpose of shooting down their own populace, in case of opposition.

POOR PROPAGANDA

Another source of weakness for the United States has been the type of propaganda we have employed in Latin America and the failure of some of the more important efforts we have made toward the economic revamping of these countries. I link the two together more or less arbitrarily to indicate the fact that respect for the United States as a nation technically capable has been dealt a rather serious blow. I have followed with considerable interest the trend of American propaganda in Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. I have noted the type of literature, the radio programs and the war posters with which we have been so liberal. I would not hesitate to say that ninety per cent of the effort is entirely lost. For one thing, there is the insistence on precisely the things that the Latin American knows and sometimes fears. If he is told in *En Guardia* that the United States produces a thousand tanks a minute or turns out a hundred trained pilots every ten seconds, he is singularly unimpressed. He knows already that the United States can do anything it wants in terms of numbers or capacity. He shrugs, shows no interest and turns, perhaps, to the British and Soviet effort with more sympathy.

The Soviet propaganda, as revealed in the book expositions and the like—in Havana, Mexico City and elsewhere—is much more clever. First of all, it is not blatantly ideological. It emphasizes the human-interest side. One sees, not a factory or a hundred tanks, but the faces of the individual peasant and Red Army man. The story the Latin American is told is the struggle of the individual Russian for his farm or his tractor; the sacrifice of the individual soldier. The whole drama is humanized and individualized and brought down to earth. The Russian peasant in the Ukraine whose lands are devastated becomes the counterpart of the Indian peasant of Michoacán, and the terms of reference are the same.

I saw in Mexico City some months ago an excellent exposition of British Catholicism. It was not an abstract showing of the role of the Church in Britain; it was strongly and deliberately individualized. The pictures revealed the shattered abbeys and chapels. It showed the Chaplain as a person in contact with his men. It brought everything down to individual cases in which soldier X became the central theme—not a factory, a transport system or a fleet.

We cannot get it through our heads that the Latin American is not impressed by *how much* we can do. I rather imagine that this propaganda, based on mass production and physical force, distresses him no end and conjures up a fear of what may be in store for him if the self-control of the United States is not absolute.

FIASCO IN HAITI

We have professedly tried in many countries to pull up the economic standards and improve the living conditions in the laudable cause of a better human race. We have sought to produce strategic materials where they never grew before and to bring about that greater self-sufficiency which seems necessary to this hemisphere. I cite only one case to illustrate the danger of this and what may be in store for us after the war if we are not extremely careful. The Haitian-American Agricultural Development Corporation was set up with finances from the Export-Import Bank. Seventy-five American experts have toiled for four years to change Haitian economy. Some 180,000 persons in the little island have been incorporated into its payrolls. A current budget of nearly \$10,000,000—with increases later—makes it a corporation much stronger than the Government of Haiti. The purpose is to produce cryptostegia, a rubber-bearing plant. Nearly 90,000 acres have been cleared and countless peasants have been removed from their lands to make way for progress. In a tiny country based on small peasant land-holdings, this has been revolutionary.

The latest information is that the whole project is on the verge of collapse, that the production is not what was expected and that most of the Americans engaged in this work have been withdrawn, leaving thousands of Haitian peasants without their land and the Haitian Government to explain to its people how this economic hurricane came about. All in the name of the economic advancement of a relatively primitive peasant people whose social institutions were tampered with. Is it worth while to introduce these large-scale proposals for the metamorphosis of economics and society in countries where only the most cautious and careful procedure can possibly produce an improvement? What will Latin America think as it becomes aware that we have entered upon projects which, instead of producing the human benefits promised, have merely left a backwash of destruction and disturbance?

The painstaking labor that has gone into the Good Neighbor policy should not be lost. The exigencies of the war should not make us blind to our responsibilities here in America. It may well be that the absorbing interest of Europe and the gigantic tasks of reconstruction will leave our Government scant time for the job of making Latin America have confidence in us. As things stand today, there is more than sufficient reason to believe that a restoration of this confidence, already menaced, is imperative.

WHO'S WHO

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CONFERENCE ISSUES

OUT OF THE MONTHS of debate about the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the United Nations Conference certain issues have emerged. On them the Conference will largely be judged.

First and most fundamental is the human issue. The Conference meets to better the state of the men and women of a suffering world; or it meets for no rational purpose. Everything that it does, every agency that it sets up, must ultimately be directed to the good of the men and women who make up the nations. The demand from many quarters for a Bill of Human Rights and an International Commission on Human Rights shows that this issue is by no means overlooked. To the extent that the Conference leaves the fundamental human rights of individuals unprotected in any land, to that extent it will have fallen short of its central purpose.

There is the issue of law—or, if you will, the issue of justice. President Truman, opening the Conference, said that America would yield to no power but that of justice. Senator Vandenberg is only one of many who desire to see the International Organization explicitly commit itself to the rule of justice and of law. "Peace-loving" is a rather subjective criterion; "law-abiding" is not only more objective, but more in accord with the tradition of international law. It has been objected that "it goes without saying" that the International Organization is to be dedicated to justice. To that, Dr. van Kleffens, of the Netherlands delegation, dryly but effectively replied that it goes even better if you say it.

There is the issue of the *status quo*. Will the Organization be able to change wartime settlements if justice or prudence seems to demand it, or will it be dedicated to preserving the *status quo*? History and common sense should show the futility of the latter course. No one could seriously entertain the idea that the immediate postwar settlements will be completely satisfactory. By one chance in a million the actual treaties of peace might be perfect; but the world that will emerge after the war is too full of problems and unknown factors to let us build on that possibility. It will be the part of wisdom to reckon on the necessity for changes, in the name of prudence or of simple justice, and to provide the means for making the changes peacefully.

Closely connected is the issue of power. Forty-three of the forty-six nations assembled at San Francisco will accept the hegemony of the other three because they have to, and for no other reason. But it is an abnormal and a highly unstable alignment of international power that is expressed in the Veto, the prerogatives of the permanent members of the Security Council and the domination of the International Organization by the Council. It underlines the brute fact that there is simply no means, short of another major war, of coercing one of the Big Three, and no means of averting a major war if the differences between the Big Three should ever become irreconcilable.

The Moscow Pact promised an international organization based on the sovereign equality of states. In human affairs, however, states can be equal only as men are equal—before the law. The hegemony of the Big Three is extra-legal. But, as the International Organization develops—as it should—a body of true international law, this hegemony should be replaced by true equality before international law. The Netherlands proposal of a veto for the small nations on the use of their armed forces suggests that the Big Three's hegemony will not pass unchallenged in the Conference. We look to the Big Three to realize the essential instability of a world dictatorship and the necessity—even from the standpoint of self-interest—of at least leaving the way open to

replacing it by a true community of equal nations under the rule of law.

The last issue might be called the issue of fact, or, perhaps, the issue of faith. How far do the nations, especially the great nations, really believe in a true international organization? How far do they *want* human rights and the rule of justice? For these are ultimately the real bases of peace; and the nation that seeks anything—even peace and security—at the expense of these may think itself peace-loving but is actually sowing the seeds of war. The nearer the nations come to seeing that justice and the pursuit of human rights are actually their best interests, the nearer will the world be to a lasting peace.

ATROCITIES

FROM WASHINGTON came news that the Supreme Court of the United States reversed a decision sentencing a German-born American citizen to forty-five years in prison on the charge of having given aid and comfort to Nazi saboteurs.

From Germany came mounting stories of Nazi atrocities against prisoners of all nations. Any one of the stories told in detail would be sufficient to freeze the blood in any normal person's veins. Heaped as they are in the thousands, they become almost wearisome reading of brutality so bestial that it finally numbs the brain of the reader.

Neither news is surprising. Since the very beginning of their rise to power, the Nazis have made a specialty and an art of torturing any who opposed them. German citizens by the thousands, Jews and Protestants and Catholics, men and women, young and old, have been victims of Nazi torture. Men who would teach children to trap their parents into incautious statements and into the consequent torture of concentration camps will stop at nothing. Poland is a record of Nazi horrorism. So is Austria. So, too, Holland. So is France. So is every nation that has at any time fallen under the terror that is Nazi culture. The people of the world hardly need await the report of a Congressional committee to believe the atrocities that have been revealed by our advancing armies.

Nor are we surprised at the calm, measured tread of American justice even in the hysteria of wartime. German spies have been given fair trials. German prisoners of war have been well treated, some even say coddled. Wounded Japanese prisoners have been treated by Army and Navy doctors side by side with our own wounded men.

Of all the answers that could possibly be given to Nazi or Japanese brutality, this undoubtedly is the best: calm, deliberate American justice. Hatred has been suggested, and reprisal and revenge, even butchery for butchery and the wholesale destruction of Germans and Japanese, retaliation in kind on German and Japanese prisoners of war. We cannot retaliate in kind, for to do so would be to fall victims ourselves to the disease that we are spending abundantly of life and wealth to stamp out. To do so would be to be conquered by the spirit of Nazism at the very moments when our troops have conquered the Nazis.

The only answer to brutality is justice—cold, stern, calm justice. Every Nazi official, every Nazi soldier and prison guard in any way connected with the atrocities must be held accountable for his share, accountable in strictest justice and in the spirit of justice. Once again we can afford to

repeat that in dealing with Nazi criminals or in dealing with the conditions of peace that will be imposed on the conquered nations, it is not a question of "softness" or of "hardness." It is a question only of justice. But it is well to remember that true justice can never be administered in a spirit of hatred. True justice rules where rules also the spirit of personal forgiveness.

THE MEAD-AIKEN BILL

IT WAS to be expected that 100-per-cent upholders of the secularist ideology would oppose the Mead-Aiken Federal-aid Bill at the top of their voices. They have quite fulfilled expectations. It was also inevitable that they should repeat their usual twaddle about "sectarian" schools attempting to undermine, if not wholly destroy, "our democratic system of free, public schools," about the separation of Church and State, etc. For many a year they have warded off a show-down on their brazen public-school exclusivism by waving these trick formulas in the face of the public. The Mead-Aiken Bill calls their bluff. For it makes provision for giving Federal aid to non-public as well as public schools (See our issue of March 24, p. 491). It implies that in our democratic system there should be room also for *free, private schools*. If we are upholding a really democratic system—and not just a blatantly secularist one—then Federal monies which come from all of the people by way of taxes should be used for the benefit of all of the people. And so if Federal aid is to be given to education, it is *wrong in principle* to allocate it to public education alone. For that would exclude several millions of the children of the people from sharing in this Federal aid, or it would force parents, in order to share in Federal funds, to send their children, not to the school of their choice (as they are guaranteed the right to do by the Constitution), but to public schools only.

It was charged in the Senate's Committee on Education and Labor that the Mead-Aiken Bill was "a clear subterfuge to get around those State laws which prohibit the use of public funds in sectarian schools." No subterfuge at all. The Mead-Aiken Bill in fact emphasizes—and even obtrudes—the shabby practice of most States in compelling everybody to pay taxes and then forbidding by law that any least part of them be used to help any private institution (charitable, educational, etc.). It tells the State, in effect, that such a procedure may stand, so long as the States pay their own way. But if they want Federal aid, they must accept it on Federal principles. Hence they must either modify existing laws or let the Federal Government circumvent them (as is provided for in the Mead-Aiken Bill), so that all of the people, without prejudice of race, color or creed, may share alike in this aid.

The Mead-Aiken Bill may never reach the floor of Congress. Its thinking is perhaps too direct and defiant a challenge to the secularism entrenched in high places. But it is well to make the challenge, and to keep on making it. Sooner or later it will have to be met. Meanwhile those who believe in fair play cannot but firmly oppose the Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck Bill (S. 181 and H.R. 1296) which makes public schools and public-school children the sole recipients of \$300 million annually of Federal funds. This Bill, which has already had hearings in the Senate committee, is at present being discussed in the House Committee on Education.

WHAT PRICE UNITY?

THE PLEA FOR UNITY which John D. Rockefeller, Jr. made a few months ago has served merely to emphasize the fact that a principle of disunity is embedded in the very essence of Protestantism. The process of disintegration continues. The various reactions which his speech called forth have highlighted the fact that the traditional divisions between the sects have been complicated by the modern divisions within the sects. The Liberals of all sects roundly applauded. The Fundamentalists of all sects sternly denounced. Bishop De Wolfe, Episcopal Bishop of Long Island, cried out in scandalized amazement, "Shocking!" A few days later a group of his own ministers repudiated his stand and declared themselves fully in sympathy with the Rockefeller proposals. Thus, paradoxically, a plea for unity became the occasion of further disunity.

It seems strange that Mr. Rockefeller did not foresee that such a plea could have no other result. Perhaps he did foresee this, but he was anxiously grasping at a straw. For along with many other Protestants he has learned the indispensable need of unity in any church that professes to be the Church of Christ. And since the Protestant sects have not been able to achieve it on any cheaper terms, he makes the desperate proposal that they purchase it at the cost of whatever fragments of Christianity they still retain. For there is no shred of Christianity left in a church which pronounces "ordination, ritual and creed, all non-essential for admission into the Kingdom of God."

In this respect Mr. Rockefeller falls directly under the indictment brought against the Liberals by the pastor of the church which bears his name. In his book, *The Secret of Victorious Living*, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick writes:

Again some of us, especially we who are religious liberals, make our Christianity costless by watering down and thinning out our faith. We have tried to formulate our Christian ideas in easily credible forms and, so doing, have attenuated them so that hardly anything is left to believe at all. . . . We have made our Christianity too thin, shallow and undemanding.

There is another sense in which the *ersatz* Christianity proposed by Mr. Rockefeller is "too thin, shallow and undemanding." By pronouncing firm belief in Christian doctrines non-essential, he removes the only adequate motive for the Christian life. For Christian living is hard living. It inculcates difficult virtues, imposes severe burdens, calls for renunciations whose effects may be felt over a lifetime. It is a fallacy to believe that a "creedless Christianity" can furnish a sufficient dynamic for such a life. When all sharply defined and firmly held truths disappear in a "mush of general concession," then sustained moral effort is impossible.

Indeed the greatest evil which the Liberal spirit has inflicted on the modern world is that it has, beyond any other cause, impoverished its moral life. By sapping all conviction as to the Divinity of Christ, the truth of the Creed, the power and grace of the Sacraments, it has eaten out the very heart of Christian courage. It has done even more damage to the moral than to the intellectual life of religion.

But however disastrous the methods by which Protestants are trying to achieve unity, their striving after it will have at least one good effect. It will teach them that Christian unity, as it is a very precious thing, so it is a very costly one. It is a jewel whose price Christ Himself has clearly stamped in the Gospels. It is not for those who try to bargain with Him or set their own terms. We must meet His terms—and they are high.

LITERATURE AND ART

WANTED: TIME TO READ

MARY STACK McNIFF

THE OTHER MORNING I saw a light reflected from my seven-year-old son's room at an unearthly hour (well, it was 5:45) and I got up to investigate. I found him on his knees in the bed, head down, haunches up—reading. He looked at me with expressionless face, waiting to see which way the parental wind would blow.

"Here, put your bathrobe on. . . . I used to do this when I was a little girl."

He grinned at me. "Fun, isn't it?" he murmured abstractedly, and went right back to his book.

That little episode gave me a lift of encouragement, and somehow set me to thinking again on the problem of Catholic literature. The author of *Catholic Best Sellers* (AMERICA, January 27) referred to the taste of readers as a possible reason for our failure to produce a *Kristin* or a *Perelandra*. I have met the element referred to as the "reading public" in different phases—public library, high-school library, popular lending library and Catholic bookshop—and few indeed are the claims I should dare to make for it.

Setting aside in a place of affectionate regard the exceptions, so dear to the heart of a book-loving librarian, and excluding the professionally bookish, let us look at the picture. It is not very bright. Reading has a frightening amount of competition. From the nursery days on there is a sense of pressure. It is a busy whirl where you have to fit in your outside play, your school hours, your radio programs and the movies. The years multiply the complications: piano-lessons, dancing-school, more radio programs, phonograph records. The last named are not to be dismissed lightly; it takes a considerable amount of time to become well informed, even to the extent of immediate recognition of individual drummers and clarinetists.

The high-school student, with the added burden of dates and afternoon sports, has to fit his academic program into a crowded schedule. His sole contact with literature is likely to be isolated in the English period. He makes book reports, choosing the shortest possible volume to fill the assignment, thus accounting for the enormous popularity of Donn Byrne's *Messer Marco Polo*, Kantor's *Voice of Bugle Ann* and Hilton's *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*. The books that are torn to shreds in class, to be reassembled in examinations, have little connection with enjoyment so far as the student is concerned. Such reading as he makes time for is being given over to special interests—radio, aviation, stamp-collecting, or to picture magazines or, possibly, to the best sellers. The latter trend is more likely to be found among the girls, who are quick to learn the social value of the right comment on the right book. Summer vacations, if not taken up with temporary jobs, have their own bewildering array of legitimate pursuits.

The "born" reader groans in despair at the college level. What with required readings, term papers, fields of concentration, social, academic and athletic activities, try asking a college student when he last sat down for a good long "read" in a book of his own choosing. According to the set in which he moves, he takes care to cover a certain amount of ground. Perhaps he is tinged with a Reddish glow, perhaps he discourses glibly on Joyce or Stein, perhaps he still chases the best sellers, catching up with them in digest form since

he cannot manage time for the books. He is learning (for purposes of examination) some general facts in English literature; his reading in all courses reduces itself to a matter of so many pages in so many hours. I have heard more than one college graduate admit ruefully that he never settled back to a habit of reading after this wholesale destruction of leisurely book associations.

In the average town library or its branches the majority of patrons fall into two classes. On the one hand are the avid best-seller fans who come with the latest lists in hand demanding prompt service. The time element is important. A long "reserve" list will evoke an impatient "Oh, never mind! By the time I get it there'll be no point in reading it. I'll get it in a lending library." There is little discrimination among such readers. Anything goes, provided it be new and widely discussed. The other large class is made up of those who murmur confidentially: "I'd like something nice and light. I don't get much time to read and when I do I want a good love story." Bless their hearts! They want fairy tales. What matters it if Cinderella works in a defense plant and Prince Charming wears silver wings? They live happily ever after, and that's what counts. If the husbands have any time left after finishing the daily papers, *Collier's* and the *Post*, they might send their wives for a good adventure story, a mystery yarn, or a war book if it has plenty of action and not too many ideas. There are always the purposeful readers who are pursuing adult-education courses, hobby interests, Friday Morning Club papers, or personality development.

In the Catholic bookshop there are evidences of strong spiritual motivation. Within that framework readers approach the categories to be found in secular libraries. Light, pleasant novels, especially with a Catholic touch in atmosphere, romanticized lives of the saints and biographies of outstanding Catholics constitute the stable demand. The best-seller appeal is effective, too, with numerous calls for the widely advertised and much-talked-about. There is no doubt that the needs of these readers have been met far more adequately in the last fifteen or twenty years. Books are more numerous, the style more nearly approaches that of the popular secular books, the books themselves are more attractive, thanks to colorful dust-jackets and (prior to the era of shortages) better formats. But just how much bearing all this has on a potential Catholic literature in America is a matter for some consideration. Fending off any attacks of complacency, I am reminded of the words of the Rev. Gerald B. Phelan in his introduction to Gilson's *Christianity and Philosophy*:

If, however, one wants to be a Catholic journalist, writer or orator, the first and most necessary thing is to be a good journalist, a good writer, a good orator, i.e., to master the highly specialized methods and techniques required for expert competence in these fields. . . . The only way to make science, philosophy or art of any kind good apologetics is to make them good science, good philosophy and good art. Piety cannot replace technique.

With that weight of responsibility upon the Catholic makers of literature, surely there might be some slight demands made upon those for whom the writing is done.

If the picture painted above seems a bit grim, remember that it is the result of viewing readers from the objective and practical angle of rentals, sales and circulations. That sordid approach does something to rose-colored glasses. Are

there no bright spots at all? Of course there are! Don't forget the exceptions I set aside so tenderly in the beginning. And it is amazing to recall how many of these good readers will tell you in a diffident manner: "I didn't have much schooling, you know. I was starved for books when I was a kid—used to read anything I could lay my hands on." You should hear some of the "book reports" given by such readers. Many times have I found in response to "How did you like it?" a breadth of background, a maturity of judgment and a sensitivity of appreciation that would do credit to the best of professional reviewers. One of this number, a grizzled, middle-aged chauffeur with a wide and winning smile, confided once, with some bewilderment: "I can't understand Joe and Peggy. Here they are getting a grand education, and you'll never find them reading unless they have to, and then it's hard done by they are."

It was true that Joe and Peggy showed small signs of achieving their father's status as a reader. I had known them in high school, and nice youngsters they were, but they simply had no time to read. Those matters of time and its employment and the ever multiplying number of books published have a direct bearing on the production of a Catholic literature. Anatole France complained of the huge output of books in the Paris of his day. Anatole! thou shouldst be living at this hour! You would have to be a hardier soul than I to argue with the average adult who protests his lack of time for "serious" reading.

May we conclude, therefore, that the time most profitable for salvaging lies in the years prior to college entrance? I have heard Europeans remark: "What do your young people do before they get to college? Their school hours are so short!" As we have seen, they are terribly rushed. Incidentally, these same Europeans have a background knowledge of English literature that is humbling indeed, if one were to think in terms of returning the compliment. And they are not Ph.D.'s in English literature, nor even "majors" in English. They see nothing remarkable in their knowledge. They would say, with a shrug: "After all, why not? We are supposed to be fairly civilized, aren't we?" Most of their reading in English was done in the *lycée* or *Gymnasium* before they entered upon their university studies. Somehow or other they made time to read. We, too, must clear the decks for leisurely reading if we hope to achieve in any considerable numbers the mature and discriminating readers who will be the mainstay of genuine literary endeavors.

As it is now, we have quantities of readers in a state of retarded development so far as taste is concerned, and fledgling writers whose literary background boasts the firm foundation of Wolfe and Saroyan. They have no mellow, intimate feeling of kinship with the literary rock whence they were hewn; they have a nodding acquaintance with names and titles. Freedom for reading is the watchword, then, and it is not only a matter of providing time. The desire for reading in the young cannot be taken for granted any more. It must be fostered; it must be fought for! It faces a struggle for survival.

This is a job for the parents. What, another? Yes, and a difficult one, too, requiring cheerful patience and watchful persistence. It means tilting with the windmills of passive entertainment, modern advertising and high-pressure living in general. It is useless to dream that a love for books will come neatly packaged along with the attractive gift books. One has to say an emphatic "No!" to the outstanding obstacles and at the same time take care not to make of books a heavy and distasteful burden. Every once in a while I have to roll up my sleeves, square my shoulders, and swing out at Superman and Dick Tracy. Up to now it is they who

have bitten the dust. We have fought the battle of the comic books, and the present lull is an armistice, not a lasting peace. On Saturday mornings I am confronted with blazing eyes and an outraged "I'm the only kid on this whole darned street who's not at the show!" I should love to think up an answer to that last protest that sounds neither priggish nor self-righteous. There are times when I have wondered if it were worth the struggle, if it would not be easier to let the professors solve the problem of illiteracy among the "educated." But I do believe in reading, in its esthetic, intellectual and spiritual values. I do believe that there must be Catholic readers with the habits of reading, the background and discernment necessary for the appreciation and enjoyment of good literature.

Surely mine is an ant's-eye view of a mighty problem, but by reading aloud on rainy afternoons and through the sieges of measles and mumps, and by being read to while ironing or cooking dinner on house-bound days, I am wrestling with the difficulty in the tiny sphere in which I can really hope to do something about it. So by this long way round we come back to the boy reading in bed before the onslaught of the day's activities. That casual "Fun, isn't it?" was the triumphant clearing of one hurdle along the way.

CATHEDRAL COFFIN

Susan Jane
Lived and died in Cummins's Lane;
Now she lies confined in Marlbro' Street
At a stone Archbishop's feet,
Alone with Him
Who sent the light-splendid Cherubim
As soon as the pallor of death came on her
To Cummins's Lane as a guard of honor.

Susan Jane
Needs no prayers from Cummins's Lane.
Keep your prayers for him who passes
And leaves a panic of pounds for Masses;
Keep your prayers for the likes of them
Who wear tall hats at his Requiem.
And don't forget yourself and me
For the curse is on us equally—
Our titles are good to the sin of Cain
That is killing folk still in Cummins's Lane.
Flourish Meath and the Golden Vale,
Crop the grasses and fill the pail,
Churn the butter and reap the grain
—It won't build sinew in Cummins's Lane.
We can't afford to make bodies strong
But whenever lungs or minds go wrong
We give them a bed or a padded cell;
We do this part of the business well
And purr with pride when visitors stare
At mica and medicine everywhere.
Mix me mortar and rear walls high,
Lean the towers against the sky;
Trench me another rood of sward
And build a bigger consumptive ward.
Let us give thanks together then
That we are not as the rest of men,
And that we have about us still
The spirit of Brigid and Colmcille.

Susan, Susan, Susan Jane,
Who lived and died in Cummins's Lane,
You never were fed or properly shod
But your soul went like a star to God.

Talk it over with Vincent de Paul
And ask him what he thinks of us all.

JOHN DESMOND SHERIDAN

the friend of the mother of the young girl through whom the conversations are reported; tragedies of various kinds—marital, filial, etc.—have dotted her life, undeservedly, we feel at first, only to start thinking that more than likely she deliberately and slyly caused most of them. And so it goes through all the book, until I put it down at the end with no clear idea of what it was all about, and the feeling that, if I did know, it would not amount to much anyway.

There is no doubt that Miss Lehmann can write; in fact, she seems to be so captivated with the flow and rhythm of her language that it carries her beyond the borders of clear thinking. And I think the main defect of the book is that the author has confused obscurity with hauntingness; in the effort to evoke curiosity, to give just sufficient hints to whet our interest in a tale that trembles on the verge of morbidity, the author gives insufficient clues, disappointing half-statements, that leave the figures and the whole atmosphere, not charged with provocative mystery, but weighted with fog.

Perhaps the whole difficulty springs from the very unfortunate technique of putting these subtle investigations about the convolutions of the human spirit into the mouth of a fourteen-year-old reporter, who could have understood one-third, at most, of what was said to her. I felt about that age, myself.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

BUENOS AIRES VS. THE COUNTRY

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC. By Ysabel F. Rennie. The Macmillan Co. \$4

FOR SEVERAL YEARS the best all-round magazine articles about Argentina have been written by Ysabel Rennie and her husband, Robert. This book is as good as the articles. If Argentina's mountains hide no unexploited mineral wealth, her libraries have riches which no North American before Ysabel Rennie had discovered. She prospected well, uncovered many a rich vein. What she found, and much that is not new, are admirably put together in *The Argentine Republic*.

"There are two Argentinas, and the whose history of the nation is the story of their struggle." In this struggle, Mrs. Rennie is usually on the *provinciano's* side. She lived in Buenos Aires, and must have loved it, but she resented its impositions, past and present, upon the provinces, its indifference to their misery—the indifference of Dives to Lazarus. Perhaps the conflict between capital and hinterland—Frenchified capital and Spanish Colonial hinterland—is exaggerated, but I think not. Independence was achieved by Buenos Aires—and independence killed the provincial handicraft industries by opening the capital to imports from all Europe. Then Buenos Aires insisted on appropriating the port revenues for its own use. Since the 1853 Constitution, governments seated in Buenos Aires have, as often as they liked, seized power in the provinces under the intervention clause. Today the unbalance in the national economy between Buenos Aires and the rest of the country is especially critical—the new industry of Argentina is concentrated in the capital, while the old agricultural wealth continues to be monopolized by it.

The chapters on nineteenth-century Argentina are rich in local incident and color. Two Argentine hero-presidents, Sarmiento and Mitre, emerge as something less than heroes. They helped Buenos Aires against what Mrs. Rennie evidently considers the real Argentina. For Sarmiento particularly, Buenos Aires personified European civilization, the provinces the barbarism of the New World. Their arch-enemy, General Urquiza—the provincial *caudillo* who overthrew the tyrant Rosas and was in turn overthrown by Mitre—a man whose "crime was that he was not a *porteño*, and that he was thinking in the interests of all the provinces," moves up nearly to the head of the heroes' list.

The greatest Argentine leader of our century was Yrigoyen, but Yrigoyen accomplished little for Argentina in a long career of political power. A leader of "democratic pretenses," wrote Lisandro de la Torre, Yrigoyen was in fact "the man who buried democracy in Argentina." The great democratic tide which he commanded spent itself in worship of his confused personality. After Yrigoyen, Argentina was "a nation adrift," "at the end of an era." No government offered a

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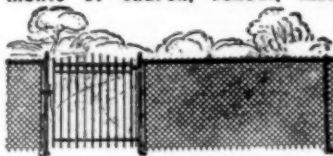
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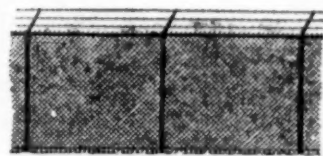
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program until, in 1943-44, the nationalists undertook to build a Fascist state. They failed, and lost power: the nation, we may assume, is adrift again.

As an economic and political history of Argentina beginning with the Rosas tyranny (which preceded the Republic), this book is first rate; it lacks, however, an account of Argentina's international relations and, particularly, an interpretation of the Argentine dispute with the United States in 1942-45. Otherwise, the treatment of Argentina during World War II, a good third of the book, is excellent. The Argentine labor movement, unfortunately, is neglected.

GEORGE DOHERTY

CITY OF (OR FOR) PATIENCE

PHILADELPHIA, HOLY EXPERIMENT. By Struthers Burt.

Doubleday, Doran and Co. \$3.75

ONLY A PHILADELPHIAN could have written this particular book about Philadelphia. Others might have compiled and narrated as well, or analyzed and praised and berated as industriously, but only one who was himself of the city could have achieved the exact blend of admiration and scorn, of deep traditionalism and patient resentment, of clear-eyed objectivity towards the city's excellences and glaring shortcomings—which, in the case of Philadelphia, are so intimately intertwined—which characterizes *Philadelphia, Holy Experiment*. It is the authentic self-consciousness of the Quaker City itself which becomes articulate in these pages.

As would be expected, the author follows in the main the historical method in his narrative. The "Coaquannock" of the Lenni-Lenape Indians (the Delawares), situated on the peninsula between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers and singularly blessed with natural riches, becomes the scene of Dutch, Swedish, Finnish and finally English Quaker settlement. There are comedy, tragedy and much dramatic struggle between idealism and sordid human selfishness and passion as Philadelphia grows into the status of the second city (second only to London) of the pre-Revolutionary English-speaking world. Its magnificent sheltered harbor, the riches of the farmland and the mineral deposits in the Province behind it, beyond anything elsewhere in the New World, its stubbornly enduring Quaker heritage of tolerance and the rich blend of intellectual tradition and realism which such tolerance fostered, the host of small merchants and vigorous traders and shipbuilders who flocked to its opportunities, all conspired to make it the "Keystone" (politically, economically and ideologically, as well as geographically) of Revolutionary America. In the republican years that followed, and after Washington's death, the city has gradually lost to other cities its many primacies (financial and shipping, to New York; political, to Washington; etc.) but it has never lost the unique and contradictory-seeming characteristics which made it great and which account for the admirable and irritating and powerful metropolis which is Philadelphia.

But the charm of Mr. Burt's book is in the liberties which it takes with the historical method. We are told the story of Philadelphia's original ideals, of its homes and its visitors and its ancient families, of its crime and police, of its health and doctors and epidemics, of its soldiers, its writers, its "mystics" (yes, even this, though Saint John of the Cross would smile!), of its theatres and its educational tradition, of its political ferment and vagaries from Penn to Penrose and the Vares, of its harbor and its factories and its banking, of its favorite dishes, its parks, its quiet Sundays and its churches. And in each of these themes the author does not hesitate to leap the years with gay insouciance, match the present with the past, and interlard the whole with historical anecdote, trivial or grave. He has gathered into his pages a true immensity of factual material. And, in view of this last, it is a tribute to both author and subject to mention that the book grows more interesting as it proceeds. If there is a slight touch of pagan indulgence in its reaction, on a few occasions, to matters of sex or the supernatural, it is no more than what any Catholic reader will recognize as an authentic echo of our modern urban culture which is still somewhat short of being completely saturated by the wisdom and the standards of Christianity.

The Evangelist John was instructed to write to the Angel of the Church at Philadelphia: "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I too will keep thee . . . hold fast what thou hast." Perhaps there is more in a name than appears. In any event, Mr. Burt's book is a fascinating tale of a city of almost incredible patience, especially with itself, and the narrative of a community which grew great by holding fast to the solid simple values of its past. JOSEPH BLUETT

FACES IN A DUSTY PICTURE. By Gerald Kersh. Whittlessey House; McGraw-Hill Book Co. \$2
A CYNIC, a Medical Officer to whom men are but guts, two soldiers feuding over a woman of the streets, a braggart, a coward, a masochist, an ex-convict, a religious simpleton . . . behold a cross-section of General Eagles' British regiment in North Africa. In so far as the author implies that his portrayal is typical, we think (and hope) he lacks verisimilitude. Still, he writes with singular power and vigor. With him you will feel the sting of the desert sand, thirst will lay " . . . its thick, feverish, hairy hand" on your throat. For you, weary unto death of this plodding through the sand, "a second smolders like a thick dry string." Altogether, however, *Faces In A Dusty Picture* is impressionistic, a Dali picture come to life, a view of life which, even if true, we might well be spared. There is so much more that is beautiful to which Gerald Kersh might lend his not inconsiderable gifts. JOHN J. CONRON

THE HIDEOUT. By Egon Hostovsky. Random House. \$1.75
SHADING OFF, like an engraver's vignette, from a relatively clear central impression to that point where sense and imagination, fact and fancy, the waking and dreaming world merge, *The Hideout* has haunting beauty.

If you lived two years a fugitive in a dark cellar, your view framed by the narrow ambit of a chink between chimney and wall, your only contact a friend whom you could not see, your own perspective might suffer a bit, too. Present, future, past, the real and unreal, arrange and re-arrange themselves like pieces in a kaleidoscope. What wonder, then, that reason totters and time fuses with the timeless?

To the Czech refugee comes a chance for delivery. He can strike a blow for world freedom and lose his life.

Written to be delivered after death, *The Hideout* is by way of a last will and testament to Hanichka, the refugee's wife. Egon Hostovsky, himself an exiled Czech, is herein worthily introduced to America. JOHN J. CONRON

THE DEVIL'S SHARE. By Denis de Rougemont. Translated from the French by Haakon Chevalier. Bollingen Series. Pantheon Books. \$2.50

WHY ADD to the bewilderment in the world today by writing a book about the devil? Why aggravate the confusion by resuscitating a medieval myth when a "positive" and reassuring message is what we need? To these questions the author replies that, while the world believes in a thousand evils and fears a thousand dangers, it has ceased to believe in the true Evil, to fear the real Danger. To show the reality of the devil is to give our fear a proper object.

The author's aim is not to draw a portrait of the Master of Disguise, the Great Sham, but to identify him, to delineate his activities, to expose his tricks. This he does by describing Satanic influences not so much in individuals as in society as a whole. While most of his observations are significant and profound, others are misleading and must be accepted with reservations. The discriminating reader, however, will here find interesting reading. J. J. HOCHBAN, S.J.

MARY STACK MCNIFF, of Boston, speaks on the problems of the reading public with some authority, having for many years been a librarian.

GEORGE DOHERTY will be remembered for his article, *Christian Democracy in Argentina*, in the April 21 issue of AMERICA.

REV. JOSEPH BLUETT, S.J., a native of Philadelphia, is professor of Theology at Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.



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AT

THEATRE

CAROUSEL. It is a curious fact that habitual rogues often make pleasant companions. Most of us who have reached maturity know worthless men whose company we prefer to that of their moral and social betters. We neither admire nor respect them, but we like them. Women frequently love them.

Billy Bigelow was a borderline specimen of the charming vagabond. By trade a circus barker, by impulse a wife-beater, by persuasion a stickup man and in desperation a suicide, Billy was hardly a noble character. Still, a sensitive woman gave him her heart, and their inarticulate love is the substance of *Carousel*, at the Majestic Theatre. The story is based on Ferenc Molnar's *Liliom*, adapted to the American scene by Benjamin F. Glazer, and embellished with music and lyrics by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, under the auspices of the Theatre Guild.

Originally a drama, the story has been converted into a form of theatre difficult to define. It is neither a musical comedy nor an operetta, but rather a fusion of drama with kindred theatrical arts. That formula need not be a sure-fire success. Unskilled craftsmen might attempt to combine drama with music and the ballet and obtain a conglomeration. What the Guild achieves is a spectacle of the theatre in its most glamorous and seductive aspect, and one must be on guard lest luxury of production be mistaken for significance.

Carousel is a rare feast of bravura acting, exhilarating ballet numbers and delectable music that is sweetly wistful at times, and a few moments later joyously exuberant. After the deluge of delight, when the last drop of sentiment has been drained from Molnar's essentially maudlin story, one is sure one has enjoyed an exciting, aye, an enchanted experience. But there is nothing to take home except, perhaps, the nostalgic thought that Ziegfeld, if he were alive, could probably surpass this one, too.

John Raitt, as the swaggering Billy, gives an eloquent performance, and Jan Clayton is appealing as Julie, the patient wife. Jean Darling, as Carrie Pipperidge, Julie's friend and confidante, is delightfully casual in comic situations; while Eric Mattson, as Enoch Snow, her husband, is persuasive as the prudent man who is poor company but a good provider. Murvyn Vye is a sinister villain.

Jo Mielziner's sets are beautifully appropriate and so are the costumes by Miles White. Agnes de Mille's dances are good, but she has done better in *Oklahoma* and *Bloomer Girl*. The verve and polish of *Carousel* make comment on Reuben Mamoulian's direction superfluous.

In two of the musical numbers, *June Is Bustin' Out All Over* and *This Was a Real Nice Clam Bake*, Christine Johnson is perfect. The former song will probably be edited before you hear it on the radio. THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

THE VALLEY OF DECISION. Greer Garson fans who have been delighted in the prolonged sufferings of their favorite, in past vehicles, will have a field-day during this presentation of Marcia Davenport's saga of a girl from the wrong side of the tracks. The scene of the tale is Pittsburgh, and it starts in the 1870's and spans a couple of decades while it records the influence of an Irish servant girl upon the affairs of a pioneer steel family. It is a story of unfulfilled love between the heroine and the oldest son of the house (Gregory Peck). Meanwhile it also sketches tragedies that have their birth in the steel mills. Bloodshed writes finis to one strike, and succeeds in shutting the door on any chance for future happiness between the mill owner's son and the daughter of a crippled employe. However, the upright girl continues to wield her worthwhile influence on the family through the years, and the finale suggests that she will continue to be helpful whenever trouble threatens. Miss Garson's skillful characterization gives tremendous strength to the sprawling tale, and Gregory Peck's admirers will be pleased with his romantic portrayal. Donald Crisp is forceful as the steel magnate, and Lionel Barrymore is violent, almost overpoweringly so, as the worker who lost his legs in the steel plant and whose disability warps his mind. The intense superstition of some of the Irish characters strikes a note that is unwelcome. Here is a picture packed with drama for adults. (MGM)

COUNTER-ATTACK. Though this story with a Russian-Nazi background has ingredients that should provide thrilling entertainment, it emerges run-of-the-mill fare. In a static sort of way the plot revolves around a Russian paratrooper (Paul Muni) and a guerilla fighter (Marguerite Chapman) who are trapped in the cellar of a factory they have helped capture from the Nazis. With them are seven enemy soldiers. The expected happens when Soviet rescuers arrive to release the man and girl, but the result is too much dialog and too little action. *Mature* cinemagoers will be mildly entertained. (Columbia)

SALTY O'ROURKE. Abandoning the respectability that he acquired for his last role, Alan Ladd is interpreting a gangster in this one. As a race-track hanger-on who faces liquidation unless he raises \$20,000, our would-be hero sets out to get the money by crooked means, and has quite a time in doing it. However, in true story-book style, the finale finds the fellow free, his enemy dead and a sweet little school-teacher waiting for him. This is ineffectual and objectionable, because it treats criminal ingenuity with sympathy. (Paramount) MARY SHERIDAN

PARADE

EFFORTS OF CIVILIZATION to continue expressing itself in the modern milieu brought forth new and strange social patterns. . . . Human behavior in the income-tax sphere of activity developed along novel lines. . . . Listing her caviar-eating cat as a dependent, a California teacher claimed exemption, arguing that the pet was no mere alley specimen but a highly intelligent feline requiring very expensive kinds of food. . . . A St. Louis business firm which specialized in helping people pay their taxes was raided by Government agents for not paying its own taxes. . . . Into a Western tax office slipped the following letter from a soldier who had been served with a demand for his 1943 income tax: "Dear Sir: A few days ago your letter was dropped into my headquarters, a foxhole east of the Rhine. Regarding your request for a financial statement, I have in my possession one rifle, eight clips of ammunition, five grenades, two packages of K-rations, one bayonet. Should you be able to assist me in the military maneuver commonly known as 'getting out of here,' I would be most happy to give you further information."

Confusion appeared concerning the exact nature of civilization. . . . In the Tulsa post-office, a man inquired: "Where

is this room where we go to get civilization?" He was directed to an office in which naturalization ceremonies were under way. . . . Confused likewise about modern forms of civilization was a Salt Lake City Civil War veteran. He exclaimed: "All I know is that man was not put on this earth to be shot at." . . . Adding to the confusion was the new woman, product of emancipation. . . . In Chicago, seven policemen were required to arrest a 250-pound woman who had been disturbing the peace by dominating a taxicab driver. Explaining the incident, the taxi-man said: "I asked her for the fare and she punched me. I got up and she knocked me down again. Two boys pitched in to help me. She grabbed one by the neck and threw him away and slugged the other with a right." Prowl cars roared up, unloaded seven blue-coated officers who finally subdued her. . . . Remarked one policeman: "Can you remember way back when it only took one cop to arrest a woman?" . . . Declared a bystander: "We're never going to get civilization on a going basis again until we get women back into the home."

When the men stop shooting at each other; when the women stop deserting the home—civilization will be civilization again. JOHN A. TOOMEY

CORRESPONDENCE

JUSTICE AND CHARITY

EDITOR: Your editorial *Attacking Charity* (April 21) must be highly commended.

So much is being said and written on the necessity of justice for making and keeping a good peace that the paramount role of charity is underestimated.

Writing to His Eminence, Cardinal Gasparri, June 24, 1923, on the subject of reparations and military occupation, Benedict XV took pains to make it clear that grave social disturbances, which would be the ruin of Europe, would result if justice alone, and not *social charity*, were consulted in settling these grave questions.

It should be noted that Benedict XV qualified charity with the adjective *social*. It is the first time that charity was so designated in any Papal pronouncement. Benedict XV used the phrase again in another letter to his Eminence on June 29, and Pius XI used it several times in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*.

Charity, like justice, has many social implications. Both serve the common good in a special, even though each in a different, way. It certainly is meaningful to characterize charity as *social* with reference to the common good of the nations in their relation one toward another.

The eminent role of social charity as "the perfection of civil society" (Benedict XV), and as "the soul of the social order" (Pius XI), has not yet been fully evaluated. This offers a distinct challenge to students of social problems both in the national and international field.

✠ A. J. MUENCH,
Bishop of Fargo

Fargo, N. D.

RELIGIOUS HABITS FOR EUROPE

EDITOR: The clothing collection for Europe is an excellent plan since it is so urgent. But what about the priests and Religious of different organizations who also are in dire need? Most priests in this country have something they could contribute to their fellow priests in Europe from their wardrobe. The Sisters, too, could help their destitute fellow Religious.

The general clothing collection will not be of much benefit to the above classes, if indeed they would share in it at all.

Chicago, Ill.

S. P. G.

ALUMNI POTENTIAL

EDITOR: A series of monthly lectures was conducted, October to April, by the Thomas More Study Club of the Regis Alumni Association, New York. Mr. Thomas A. Brennan is lay director of the series. One of these lectures was on Communism, by Father Smith of the Crown Heights Labor School. In answer to a complaint during the discussion period after the lecture, a young lady who might do credit to the Catholic Evidence Guild had something to say that seems to be worth a comment here.

"Why complain," she asked, "about the lack of study clubs and lectures on the Church's teachings and the ideas and technique of Communism? Have not our pastors audiences ready made, obliged as people are to attend Mass under pain of sin on Sundays? If the people are not up on the works and pomps of Communism, if time is disgracefully wasted in the pulpit with long-winded announcements and poorly prepared sermons, whose fault is it? Is it any wonder that Catholics are often quite ignorant about what is going on?"

Now this charge may appear more sweeping and general than it should be. That there is some truth in it no one can deny.

Yet, even if every church and every pastor did his full duty in the matter of better and more widespread instruction of his people on the relation of Catholic life to modern society, there is still a crying need of study clubs, lecture

forums and widespread literature on the various forms of Catholic social work.

What are we doing with our alumni? Are we not missing the boat when we ignore, from University Presidents and Pastors down, the power of our graduates? Are they to be allowed to drift uselessly with no concern from their Alma Mater or their Pastors? It does not seem fanciful to conceive that every parish should be supplied with qualified young men by the colleges and high schools so that study and discussion groups might be fostered.

If we fail these young men they are going to fail us—make no mistake about that. The anti-clerical ranks in Spain's Civil War sometimes bulged with young men baptized and educated in the Faith.

New York, N. Y.

GABRIEL A. ZEMA, S.J.

APPRECIATIONS

EDITOR: I am writing you on behalf of the Bishops' War Emergency and Relief Committee—and at their direction—to tell you of their deep appreciation of your unselfish cooperation in making their annual appeal known throughout the country.

It is unnecessary for me to attempt to tell you, I am sure, what blessings, spiritual and temporal, are brought to so many destitute and desolate human beings all over the globe through the funds raised by means of this appeal. I know that the knowledge that you have had a very important role in this Christlike charity will be in itself no little reward for your unselfish effort toward its success. Yet I cannot but believe that in the powerful intercession of those who will be helped so much to bear great crosses, their unknown benefactors will not be forgotten.

May He Whose love moves us all to be mindful of even His least brethren bless you abundantly for a service so wholehearted and so effective.

(VERY REV. MSGR.) HOWARD CARROLL,
Washington, D. C. General Secretary, N.C.W.C.

EDITOR: I have read *Comment on The Week* in the April 7 issue of *AMERICA* with more than considerable interest because of your intelligent discussion of the extension of the Emergency Price Control Bill.

One of our biggest jobs is to try and help people understand the facts as you have outlined them; that business, industry and agricultural interests have not suffered under our price and rationing controls, and that we're going to have to continue these controls until the threat of wartime inflation is overcome.

I agree with you, too, that men returning from battlefronts will look to us to maintain a stable economy. I certainly appreciate your sincere interest in OPA and the help you have given us in clarifying some of the facts about our program.

CHESTER BOWLES
Washington, D. C. Administrator, OPA

EDITOR:

Three articles in your issue of March 31 are notable. Each touches a different but very important department of national life. Father Masse's *Where Do We Go from Here?* is at the heart of the labor problem. Senator O'Mahoney presents a most illuminating survey of a vital issue between government and "big money," as illustrated in *The New Federal Insurance Law*. And, thanks to Sister Julie, unfolding *Lauren Ford's Sacramental World*, we realize that, as an antidote, we hope, to some of the perverted stuff lately thrust upon our attention, true ideas of nature, art and religion are still potent in the work of one of our most talented and popular American artists.

Such contributions help much to right thinking where many are now confused.

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THE WORD

THE FIFTH SUNDAY after Easter is the last Sunday before our Lord's Ascension, the beginning of His last few days with His Apostles before His return to God.

He has completely finished all the work He came on earth to do. He has reconciled man to God by His death on the Cross. He has left to man a road-map to Heaven in His own living of His human life. He has taught the real meaning of life and the desirability of the truly worthwhile things. He has given place and meaning to hard things and suffering. He has founded His Church to keep His teachings alive, clear, up-to-date. In His Church He has left His own wisdom, His authority, His healing power and forgiving power and sanctifying power. He has left the memorial of "His Passion, Resurrection and Ascension" in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. He has left to His Apostles and to the priesthood after them the power to bring Him continually to dwell in our midst. He has made arrangements to send the Holy Spirit to clarify what may be obscure, to be a constant source of enthusiasm and encouragement. What more could He have done?

He has left us understanding, assurance, inspiration, assistance. All these must certainly add up to the joy and peace He came to bring into the world. On the night of His coming the Angels sang: "Glory to God in high Heaven, and peace on earth to those who are God's friends." On this Sunday before His going He assures His Apostles: "You have only to make any request of the Father in my name, and He will grant it to you. . . . There is no need for me to tell you that I will ask the Father to grant [it] to you, because the Father Himself is your friend, since you have become my friends" (John 16:23-30).

The cycle is complete. The work is done. The peace He promised is now a reality, or at least capable of being made a reality, because He has made us His friends, and in so doing has restored us to the friendship of God. In His going He leaves us a most solemn promise that our prayers will always gain us all the things that are necessary to our peace and joy, because He is our friend and will make our prayers His own, because He Himself will take our prayers and plead them before the Throne of God, because the Father Himself is now our friend.

Immediately, the Church in her liturgy takes advantage of the generosity of Christ. The next three days are Rogation Days, asking days, begging days. Between now and Ascension Thursday the Church bids us pray with extra intensity, to heap all our requests into huge piles, so that, when Christ on Thursday ascends to His Father in Heaven, He will carry them with Him, knowing that the heart of the Father will be more than usually eager to grant any petitions of His returning dearly-beloved Son. Before Mass on these next three days we recite the Litany of the Saints to be sure to have all of them, too, praying for us and with us in these days of special prayer. Part of the Litany is a long series of supplications that plead for practically everything we need in human living.

This Rogation period could be a powerful period for the world if only all of us would join in. Never was the world more in need of prayer. Never, perhaps, did we ourselves as individuals and families have more things to pray for. Is it too much to ask that on these Rogation Days we get out of bed a bit earlier and join the praying Church in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass? If we cannot be present at Mass, could we not recite the Litany of the Saints in our homes, as our family prayer, as our part of all the numberless petitions that our Ascending Lord will place before the Heavenly Father on Ascension Thursday? In addition to its prayer power, the Litany has also an educational value. It teaches us *what* to pray for, and guides us to make our prayer not just an individual petition but a prayer for all the needy world.

In our praying, we may well remember two things: Christ's promise that our prayers will be heard presupposes that we are God's friends ("the continual prayer of a *just* man," says Saint James, "availeth much"); and secondly, He to whom we pray is our Father, all-loving, all-wise, who simply cannot deny what is really good to those who are His children and friends of His only-begotten Son.

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